

~~Secret~~

~~PT~~

फाइल संख्या

File No.

खण्ड

Volume

II (PT file)

Serial

870/11/P/10/93 lot

(Main file with P.M. Secy's P.M.  
member on 19/9/94 since 29/12/93)  
(encl.)

भारत सरकार  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय  
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

Political

अनुभाग/प्रभाग

SECTION/DIVISION

टिप्पणियां/पत्राचार

NOTES/CORRESPONDENCE

विषय

SUBJECT

Dis appearance of Netaji Subhas  
Chandra Bose

को सूचीकृत की गई

Indexed on

आद्याक्षर

Initials

Sir,

Pls see.

1 flag may also see.

11/10/15

(92) ~~PT/8K~~  
Add p. Secy to PM ~~Bele~~  
Imp. May need  
discussion. ~~2/10~~

ष्ट किया जाए

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2/2(S) 19/9/44  
24/8/94

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पिछले हवाले

Previous References

बाद के हवाले

Later References

870/11/P/10/92

Linked Papers with NCO. Sec.  
(NCO/354/17/94  
dt-17/5/54)

Keep ~~2/12/15~~



20 (vol. II)

| 320/TS/fh sea 5 PM 94 |

TS(N) — 249 A / TS(M) TS/94  
at.

~~29/9~~

219/94

320/TS/fh sea 5 PM 94

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1.07  
/ 94

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dr. 17/9/94

TS-4334 436 / TS(M)

94

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dr. 15/9/94

15/9/94

TS(N) 249 A.

TS(N) 249 A.

TS(N) 249 A.

Internal

Principal Secretary wished to have a draft reply to Shri Ashis Ray's letter about Netaji's ashes. choh...  
21/11

2. The file on the subject is under submission. The point about the priest of the Renkoji temple, where the ashes lie presently, wishing that these ashes be brought to India has been made by MEA. Principal Secretary had subsequently flagged it to Home Secretary. The note at 1/c from Home Secretary indicates that this aspect is under consideration.

3. A draft reply is placed below.

*Sujata Mehta*  
(Sujata Mehta)  
Director  
4.8.1994

JS(M)

JS(N)

Principal Secretary

FC

*h. k...*  
5/8/94

*Peron*  
5/8/94

*Aman*  
6/8

RA

*st(5)*

*h...*  
P.S.

PRL, SECY. to PM.

I Y No... *2822-5/94*

Date... *5/8/94*

J.S. (N)'S OFFICE

DY No... *2845*

DATE... *5/8/94*

J.S. (M)'S OFFICE

Dy. No... *8009/94*

Date... *5/8/94*

*3909/94(10)94*  
*4/8*

Poll Sec

1A

Smill/C

Ref. Dir (A) Dy No. 2246 / Dir (A) / 5/94 dt. 25.4.94  
(L.S. No 4589 / Pol / 94) M.H.A. no. no. 1/12014/27/93-  
I.S. D II dt. 20/4/94 from Home Secy. on the  
controversy regarding Netaji's death and  
bringing his ashes to India from Japan.

m. 870 / 11/P/10/93 Pol (A) file

Our file No. 870/11/P/10/93.Pol referred to  
in the note is under submission to  
No. 0 / DS(S) / JS(M) / JS(N) / Pol. Secy to PM  
(vide their Dy Nos 7350 / DS(S) / 93, 14295 / JS(M) / 93,  
151 / JS(N) / 94 & 157 / Pol. Secy to PM / 94 dt. 25/1/94)  
since 29.12.93 and the same has not been  
received back in the sec. pt. The file is  
being H. sec. promptly with Pol Secy to M.

3734 / Dir (A) / 5/94  
20/9

Agm  
26/4/94

26/4

Dir (A) Pl. put up on return.

If check with  
PPS to Pol Secy.

checked by SO. from  
PPS to Pol Secy. The  
file is still with  
Pol Secy.  
26/4/94

Pol. Secy

26/4

Pl. confirm whether the above mentioned file is  
still lying with Pol. Secy to PM.

Agm  
26/4/94

26/4/94

PPS to Pol. Secy.

The file is still with P. Secy.  
30.6.94.

SO (Pol.)

Pl. keep this in the 7th area of admin.

Our main file on the subject has been received back today.  
Dir (A) / JS(N) may pl. see w.r. to S. Secy (in Post file). Previous papers  
are tagged at S. Secy. 15/4 and 1-5/4 in the main file H.

Agm  
19/9/94

19/9/94

Dir (A) / JS(N)

26/4

4/11

Spoken to JS(N).  
 There are other  
 connected papers on this  
 issue in NGO and  
 Ad. Pl. connect  
 and re-submit.

So (NGO) for  
 Pol. Sec.

So. 2/11/94  
 1/11

Connected papers on the subject are in NGO Sec. NGO Sec.  
 may be attach their papers and put up to Dir(A)/JS(N).

HSP  
 20/7

JS(N)  
 20/8/94

So (NGO) file is placed below.

Pol. Sec.  
 20/7/94

Dir(A)

In view of reference made to  
 MHA for bringing a paper for  
 consideration of the Cabinet, (Pg. A).  
 no other action may, perhaps,  
 be needed at this stage.

20.9.94

P. M. O. (NGO)

Dy. No. 402/5/94

Date 20-9-94

JS(N)

21/9/94

Dir(A)

21/9/94

So (NGO)

So (NGO)

21/9

P. H.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE  
 Secret Dy No  
 DATE

3273  
 21.9.94  
 HSP  
 97 Dir(A)/JS/94  
 21/9/94

NGO file removed  
 21/9

CORRESPONDENCE

SECRET

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

Subject: Controversy regarding Netaji's death and bringing his ashes to India from Japan.

Principal Secretary to Prime Minister may please refer to his U.O. No. 870/11/P/10/93-Pol. dated 13th October, 1993 on the above subject.

2. The matter was examined after obtaining copies of the two articles (three issues) that appeared in the bi-monthly magazine "Asia and Africa Today", in Moscow, in September, November and December, 1993. It was found that the second article by Mr. V. Touradjev (two issues) entitled "Whom Subhash Chandra Bose Fought against during the Second World War Years" was mainly intended to show that Netaji cooperated with the British Secret Service MI-6 and was a British plant in the heart of the Axis powers. Although the allegations are based on indirect evidence and are more or less speculative, yet they have serious potential of whipping up popular sentiments in India. The entire findings are based on alleged Soviet intelligence reports from Afghanistan and other places. There is reportedly no separate file on Netaji in the KGB Archives.

3. Views of MEA, IB and R&AW were ascertained. MEA feels that there is no need for over-reacting to the publication of such allegations, as there has been no publicity of these articles either in Russia or India. Mr. Touradjev has told our Embassy in Moscow that he has no plan to write any further articles unless further archival material becomes available to him from KGB Archives. IB is of the opinion that such publications, alleging links of Netaji and his associate with MI-6 and KGB, will evoke wide-apread reactions and could cause discomfiture to the Government. People in India would consider it to be a sinister design to tarnish the image of Netaji. R&AW has expressed similar views and is of the opinion that the possible replay of these write-ups in the Indian media has explosive potential.

4. In view of the sensitivity of the matter, we feel it would be prudent to take pre-emptive action to forestall further publications of such articles. MEA has, therefore, been asked to take up the matter with the Russian authorities at an appropriately high level to prevent publication of similar articles in future.

5. As for the controversy about Netaji's death and his mortal remains at Renkoji Temple in Tokyo, the matter has indeed assumed considerable urgency. It is being placed before the Committee of Secretaries (Core Group) for evolving a strategy, whereafter the matter would be placed before the Cabinet.

( N.N. Vohra )  
Home Secretary

Shri A.N. Varma,  
Principal Secretary to P.M.

MHA U.O.No. I/12014/27/93-IS.DIII

Dated: April 20, 1994.

SECY. to PM.

No.

J.S. (N)'S OFFICE

No. 24/2

2246/D/O/11/24

4589/10/194

25/4

Prof. Samar Guha  
Former  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
( LOK SABHA )



2  
8/2, CENTRAL PARK,  
CALCUTTA-700 032  
PHONE : 72-1600  
12 May 1994

Dear Prime Minister,

I will heartily congratulate you for the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the Formation of the Azad Hind Govt. and the Azad Hind Fauj and the very befitting and inspiring speech you made on the occasion. Your tribute to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose created a deep impression in the minds of all who attended the function.

I hope the concluding session of the Anniversary of the INA and the Azad Hind Govt. on 21st Octo 1994 will also be celebrated in a way that may create a patriotic fervour of national solidarity among the people of our country.

I was somewhat surprised why most of the Ministers and the Members of Parliament failed to attend this solemn occasion of paying our tributes to the martyrs of the INA who gave their all for the liberation of our motherland. Press also didn't give any coverage of this ceremony. It appears there had been some lapses somewhere.

With kind regards and namaskar,

Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao  
Prime Minister of India  
South Bloc  
New Delhi 110011

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*

( SAMAR GUHA )

2353/vip  
7/6

6641/palray  
7/6



PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
May 28, 1994

Dear Professor Guha,

Thank you for your letter of 12th May, 1994.

With regards,

Your sincerely,

*P. V. Narasimha Rao*  
[P.V. Narasimha Rao]

Professor Samar Guha  
8/2, Central Park  
Calcutta - 700 032

2/3/6

DS(s) *hm*  
3.6

✓  
6642/palray  
7/6

h/6 Rps - file se Azad Hind Gang  
Pol III 6/6 Pii/Necapi *subhan vi*

file with Rish Singh 1/4  
Date 28/5/94  
17/6/94  
1/93

**P. C. THOMAS**  
Member of Parliament  
(Lok Sabha)  
MUVATTUPUZHA

160, South Avenue,  
New Delhi-110011  
Phone : 3792534



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Thodupuzha, Kerala  
Phone : 04862 - 3333, 2569

Mount Lourdes, Chakompathal P.O.,  
Kottayam Dist.,  
Phone : 048197 - 233

9-6-94.

1285/M.P./ND./94.

To  
Mr Hon. Prime Minister  
Dear Sir,

I am enclosing letter received  
by me from NETATI PAXA  
PARISHAD with copies of two  
press cuttings.

I request your early  
action.

Yours truly  


✓  
9594/100194  
5/7

# NETAJI JANA PARISHAT

(Reg: No. I- 164 / 91)  
KOLAPRA, KUDAYATHOOR P. O.  
IDUKKI (Dist) THODUPUZHA  
Pin - 685 590  
KERALA STATE

Thodupuzha,  
17..5..1994.

Sri P.C.Thomas M.P.  
Kerala Congress,  
Parliament House  
New Delhi.

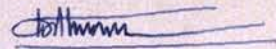
Esteemed P.C.Thomasgi,

I am herewith forwarding two paper chips of  
Indian Express for favour of consideration <sup>and</sup> follow up  
action. Since the matter is self explanatory I  
need not clarify it any further.

For averting national shame you are humbly  
requested to prevail on the Union Government for  
bringing back the mortal remains of Netaji at the  
earliest.

Thanking You.

Yours faithfully

  
Adv. P.T.Mathew  
President.

## Immortal remains

■ Sir, - The controversy over the death of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose continues unabated even after fifty years of his disappearance from the war front. What had happened to him had been aptly recorded and testified by his close associates including the doctor who had treated him in

his last days.

Those who dispute his death in plane accident are not in a position to offer any other satisfactory explanation as to his whereabouts and prolonged absence. Since nothing is heard about him for the last half a century it shall be presumed that he is no more.

Because of the controversy over his death, the mortal remains are being kept in a Buddhist shrine in Tokyo awaiting clearance for a return to the motherland. If his mortal remains were to be brought over to India the whole nation would rise as one man in offering homage to the departed leader.

Time is fast running out and it is disclosed by a section of the press that the monks have become restive about keeping up the remains indefinitely. If it is left as an unclaimed object, they may be tempted to dispose it of in their own way. To avert such a national shame all are requested to wind up their differences and prevail on the Union Government to initiate steps for bringing back the mortal remains of Netaji to his motherland.

N.J.MATHEW  
THODUPUZHA

INDIAN  
EXPRESS

same day reached its peak when the Government was hard put to defend the secret London talks with United States. Prime Minister Rao, justifying the London talks told the Rajya Sabha that India could not refuse to talk on

## Strife feared over bringing 'Netaji's ashes'

NEW DELHI - The Government of India is of the view that bringing the ashes, reported to be of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, back to India from Japan, in the absence of a consensus on the issue might prove divisive and create tensions. R.L.Bhatia, Minister of State for External Affairs told Rajya Sabha on Wednesday.

The issue of Netaji's death is charged with emotion and opinions remain divided, Bhatia said.

He said many people including Netaji's nephews still doubt the event of his reported death and question the veracity of the ashes.

There have been repeated requests from the Renkoji temple where the ashes have been kept, and Japanese associates of Netaji for the ashes to return to India.

Attempts have also been made to have the ashes brought back to India with all reverence and honour as befitting a man of the stature of Netaji, the Minister said.

There have been attempts to have a new inquiry instituted on the question of Netaji's death in the air crash on August 18, 1945 after the two inquiry commissions concluded that the ashes kept at the Renkoji temple...



PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
June 24, 1994

Dear Shri Thomas,

I have received your letter of 9th June,  
1994.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

*P.V. Narasimha Rao*  
(P.V. Narasimha Rao)

Shri P.C. Thomas, MP  
M-20, Gandhi Nagar Housing Colony  
Thodupuzha  
Kerala

9/18  
10/14 (S) km  
4.7

✓  
7573/Pel/94  
5/7

*Pol*

6  
78  
Pii  
76

87/11/11/17/93  
Bharat Vats

2035/PM/VIIP  
29/6

Prof. Samar Guha  
Former  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



8/2, CENTRAL PARK,  
CALCUTTA-700 032  
PHONE : 72-1600  
20 June/1994

SPEED POST

Dear Prime Minister,

You are going to Russia very soon to meet Mr. Boris Yeltsin, President of Russia. This is a very welcome move.

I would appeal to you in the name of God, our nation and the heritage of our freedom struggle to avail this occasion to make a request to Mr. Boris Yeltsin to reveal what they know about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, who, according to so many dependable reports, took shelter in the former Soviet Union after fall of Japan on Aug 15, 1945.

Now, the Govt. of Russia have adopted a liberal policy to open-out all secret documents of KGB and the secret archives of Stalin. It will be, thus, no difficult for Russia to reveal all facts about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Following are some of the reports, - why it is firmly believed that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose took shelter in Soviet Russia after surrender of Japan in mid 1945:

(1) According to disclosure made to Sarat Chandra Bose by Dr. Radha Vinod Pal, the Indian judge of the 'Tokyo War Criminals Trial'. The American Judge of the Trial informed Dr. Pal that according to an inquiry report of Mac Arthur, the war time Chief of the US Pacific Army 'Subhas Chandra Bose of India escaped to Russia via Dairen under the camouflage of the story of his reported air crash death on Aug 18, 1945.'

(2) The British Intelligence submitted to the Govt. of Wavell in early 1946, that Subhas Chandra Bose reached Russian territory. Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawharlal Nehru received some secret communication from Bose requesting them to arrange for his repatriation to India. (Shah Nawaz Committee document - No.10/Misc./INA-pages 38-39). These reports says :

"Gandhiji stated publicly at the beginning of January (1946) that he believed that Bose was alive and is hiding ascribing it to his inner voice. The Congressmen believe that Gandhiji's inner voice is a secret information which he received. There is, however, a secret report which says Nehru received a letter from Bose saying that he was in Russia and that he wanted to escape to India. The information alleges that Gandhiji and Sarat Chandra Bose are those who were aware of this. It is probable that a letter arrived about the time Gandhiji made his public statement. In January also, Sarat Bose is

discussed with J.S. No action for the present

Netaji's letter to Gandhi..2

1268/Relay  
24/6

J.S. (M)'S OFFICE  
Dy. No. 6443/94  
Date 28/6

20/6

May kindly see for information. No action seems necessary.

To acknowledge the letter may provide a fresh exchange on the subject.

for 22/6

J.S. (M) we could check what action was taken on previous letters on this subject.

8/55/917(9) 1994  
23/6

is reported to have said that he was convinced that his brother was alive."

(3) According to another British Intelligence Report received from the Russian Ambassador in Kabul and Mr. Maradoff, the Russian Vice Consul General in Teheran, that 'Bose is in Russia' assuming the name of 'Ghilzai Malang' :

"The information received from the internal source is puzzling and same can be said about the external information. On 7th January the Russian paper Pravda denied in strong terms that Bose was in Russia. Before this, however, Ghilzai Malang had been coupling with a live Bose in Russia, and in December, a report said that the Governor of Afghan Province, Khost, has been informed by the Russian Ambassador in Kabul that there are many Congress refugees in Moscow and Bose was included in their number. There is little reason for such persons to bring Bose into fabricated stories. At the same time, the view that the Russian Officers are disclosing or alleging that Bose is in Moscow is supplied in a report received from Teheran. This stated that Maradoff, the Russian Vice-Consul General disclosed in March that Bose is in Russia ... Taihoku, Congress and Russian representatives in Teheran and Kabul are most important objectives in this case as it stands now."

(4) A note found in Mountbatten's Diary (placed before the Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission) hinted that Netaji Bose didn't move beyond Tourane in North Vietnam. From there Netaji Bose and Genl. Shedei separated themselves from the other passengers of the plane bound for Taihoku. From there Netaji went back to Dalat, the Hq. of the Japanese S.E. Army and from there he and Genl. Shedei moved to Dairen by a separate plane. Genl. Shedei was deputed to take charge of the Japanese Kwantung Army then facing Russian incursion into Manchuria.

(5) The disclosure made in 1975 in the British Documents of 'Transfer of Power - 1942-47' in Volume VI a few 'Top Secret' letters have been published about 'treatment of Bose' after fall of Japan. The 'Top Secret' letter No.57 informed regarding the decision of the U.K Govt. about Subhas Chandra Bose in which it has been stated :

"In many ways the easiest course would be to leave him (Bose) where he is. And not to ask for his release. He might, of course, in certain circumstances be welcomed by the Russians. This course would raise fewest immediate political difficulties."

(6) A German Global Intelligence Agency, INTERPRESS, published an article in 1949. In which it claimed that Bose had gone to Russia and was waiting for a revolutionary move towards India with the help of Russia.

(7) S.A. Ayer in his testimony before Khosla Commission, the former Information Minister of Azad Hind Govt. disclosed that he was secretly sent by Pandit Nehru to Japan in 1951 to ascertain facts about Netaji's plan after fall of Japan. In his report to Pandit Nehru, Ayer informed that :

Col. Tada who was an architect of Netaji's Plan of Disappearance alongwith Genl. Isoda told him that as advised by F.M. Tarauchi, the Chief of the Japanese S.E. Asian Army 'Kaka-Bose' (His Excellency Bose) was asked to reach Russian territory along with Genl. Shedei who was going to Dairen. "It was arranged that Chandra Bose will fly in the plane in which Shedei was going. Genl. Shedei will look after Chandra Bose upto Dairen, and thereafter, he would fall back on his own resources to contact Russian. Japanese would announce to the world that Bose had disappeared. That would absolve them (Japanese) of all responsibility in the eyes of the Allies."

(8) The British Communist leader Mr. Gallasher, who was then a member of the Parliament, said in a statement in 1949 that, "Bose has gone to Irish Free State on a secret Mission."

(9) Deben Sen, then an M.P made a press statement in Delhi in 1969 before his death that he and Mr. Joglaker, a founder-member of the Communist Party, accidentally met Subhas Chandra Bose at Marssellies airport in France while they were going to Amsterdam to attend an International Trade Union Conference. Deben Sen, who was closely known to Subhas Chandra Bose in thirties when tried to approach Netaji at the airport, he was signalled by Netaji not to approach him and keep silent as he was then found surrounded by a few Russian guards. Deben Sen on return from Amsterdam told this story to Sarat Chandra Bose and later to me privately. But he was asked by Sarat Babu not to say anything about it publicly. But ~~## ### #####~~ in 1969, when he felt that he was about to die because of serious heart trouble, Deben Sen made a public statement in Delhi giving about the incident of his meeting Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the French airport. Interestingly, the time of this incident tallied with the time of Gallashar's statement about Netaji's visit to Ireland to meet De Valera.

(10) Unfortunately, no body inquired from De Valera if Subhas Chandra Bose visited Ireland during the days of 1949. When De Valera later visited India, he told press people that "I expected Bose to see in India."

(11) All the Japanese Diplomats, who were inter-linked with Netaji Bose during the days of Azad Hind struggle and all the INA Generals and the Azad Hind Govt. Ministers told Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission that Netaji's destination after his flight from Saigon on

Aug 17, 1945 was Russia. Only exception was Col. Habibur Rahman, who was a part of Netaji's escape-plan.

(12) Shri Shyamlal Jain, a steno of Mr. Asaf Ali, who was the Secretary of the INA Defence Council in 1945, told Khosla Commission that on Dec 26/27, 1945 he was asked by Pandit Nehru to prepare copies of a 'note' at the residence of Asaf Ali. The note informed :

"...Bose arrived today Aug 24, 1945 at Dairen at 1.30 afternoon alongwith Genl. Shedei, proceeded towards Russian territory, the jeep returned after three hours."

(13) Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan confided his close friend Dr. Saroj Roy, the then Head of the Deptt. of Philosophy, Calcutta University that he came to know that 'Bose is in captivity in Stalin's Russia'. This information was communicated to Shri Morarji Desai by the great historian R.C.Majumdar an intimate friend of Dr. Saroj Roy.

(14) Many other informations were given to the press by Mr. P.B. Seal (in London) and later by S.N.Sinha, a former Indian Ambassador in East Germany, that Netaji was in captivity in Soviet Russia.

(15) In 1990 a document was found in the archives of US Princeton University that Khurshed Nauraji - a grand daughter of Dadabhai Nauraji, a very trusted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi wrote a letter to the American journalist, Mr. Louis Fischer, who was known to maintain liaison between Mahatma Gandhi and President Roosevelt, - giving a detailed description of the political situation in India in 1946. In this letter Khurshed Behin wrote to ##### Fischer :

"At heart the Indian Army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army (INA of Bose). If Bose comes with the help of Russia, neither Gandhiji nor Congress will be able to reason with the country. Also if Russia for propaganda purposes declare itself an Asiatic country, then there is no hope of an European alliance acceptable to India."

This letter was written on instruction of Mahatma Gandhi which showed that Gandhiji was definite till 22nd July 1946 that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was in Russia.

(14) An Indian Engineer of Calcutta, Mr. A.Sarkar, who is still alive and in Calcutta, made a statement to Calcutta Statesman saying that he met a German Jew, - Mr. B.A.Zerobin, Deputy Chief of the Plant, Machinosttroitelinizevod of Soviet Union. Mr. Sarkar was working in the Machine Building Plant at Gorlovska near the city of Doniest. He was working there being deputed by the Govt. of India.

I also met Shri Sarkar in Calcutta and got the information that he received from Zerobin. I asked him why he didn't go to the press after

returning to India. He told me that on receiving information about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Zerobin, he approached Indian Embassy in Moscow, but was warned by the Third Secretary of the Mission not to utter a word about it to anybody.

"Zerobin after being captured in Berlin, was taken in a train to an unknown place in Siberian region, from where he was sent to a Re-orientation Camp somewhere in Siberia. In that Camp one day he suddenly found Subhas Chandra Bose coming out of a Car, flanked by two Mongolian guards. Seeing Bose, Zerobin excitedly rushed towards him and said: 'Sir, I have met you in Berlin'. Bose replied in his characteristic style: 'Quite likely'. Bose then asked Zerobin: 'What are you doing here?' Zerobin replied: 'I don't know what for.' Zerobin again asked Bose: 'What is your programme, Sir? Are you going back to India?' Bose: 'I expect it to be soon.'"

While Bose and Zerobin were talking in German, (Bose knew German well) the Mongolian guards intervened: 'Not allowed'.

Thereafter, Zerobin had no opportunity to meet Bose in the Siberian Re-orientation Camp.

Zerobin warned Mr. A.K.Sarkar that if he disclosed ## the report of Zerobin's meeting with Subhas Chandra Bose in the Re-orientation Camp in Siberia, the lives of both, Zerobin and Sarkar, will be seriously endangered.

After retiring from the Govt. job, Shri Sarkar took courage to disclose the report about Bose and that too many years later.

I have sent a letter to the then President of Soviet Union, Mr. Gorbachev. My letter was separately forwarded to the Russian President by our ##### former President, Shri N.Sanjiva Reddy and a former President of the Congress, Shri S.Nijilingappa. But none of these letters was replied by Mr. Gorbachev.

After Mr. Boris Yeltsin came into power, I addressed a fresh letter to him enclosing also the copy of the letter that I had written to Mr. Gorbachev.

Earlier on Nov 29, 1973 I had addressed a letter to the then President of Soviet Union, Mr. Brezhnev requesting him to disclose what Russia knew about Netaji's entry into Soviet Russia in the month of Aug 1945. The letter was acknowledged, but not replied. I had the opportunity to meet Mr. Brezhnev as a Leader of the Socialist Group in the Parliament when he visited Delhi in 1973.

Respected Prime Minister Narasimha Raoji ! You will be visiting Russia and soon meet the present President of Russia, Mr. Boris Yeltsin. I would earnestly request you to take up this solemn patriotic issue about the fate of the greatest revolution of India, Netaji Subhas Chandra

Bose, who reportedly entered into Soviet Russia after fall of Japan.  
I do hope that you will take up the mission, as a sacred national task,  
to find out from Mr. Borris Yeltsin what really happened to Netaji  
of the Indian people after his entry into Russia.

I know that this is a very intricate issue. But it is expected of the Prime Minister of India to take up the issue with the President of Russia to finally resolve the poignant question - what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, - the Maha Kshatriya of Indian freedom.

With best regards and namaskar,

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*

( SAMAR GUHA )

Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao  
Prime Minister of India  
South Bloc  
New Delhi 110011

Prof. **Samar Guha**  
Former  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
( LOK SABHA )



8/2, CENTRAL PARK,  
CALCUTTA-700 032  
PHONE : 72-1600  
29 June 1994

Respected Rastrapatiji,

Two-three months before Pandit Nehru passed away, he categori-  
cally wrote to Suresh Chandra Bose, an elder brother of Netaji Subhas  
Chandra Bose, that "there is no direct and precise proof of Netaji  
Subhas Chandra Bose's death."

The British document - 'Transfer of Power 1942-47' in its  
Volume VI positively hinted that Netaji took asylum in Russia.

A letter found in US Princeton University written by Khurshed  
Behan, a grand daughter of Dadabhai Nauroji ~~written~~ to US journalist  
Louis Fischer under instruction from Mahatma Gandhi, - revealed  
that till 22nd July 1946, Gandhiji firmly believed that Netaji Subhas  
Chandra Bose was alive in Russia.

There are many other dependable reports about Netaji's entry  
into Russia after fall of Japan in the last world war.

I have written a letter to our Prime Minister, Shri P.V.Narasimha  
Raoji on the eve of his visit to Russia to take up the issue with the  
Russian President, Boris Yeltsin, what exactly happened to Netaji  
Subhas Chandra Bose after his entry into Russia.

This is a very sensitive patriotic issue. But unfortunately, the  
Govt. of India didn't make any move at any time to find out facts  
about Netaji from known international sources. It is a matter of  
extreme regret that our Govt. remained so ungrateful to the  
Mahakshatriya of our national freedom.

I would earnestly request you to go through the enclosed letter  
and take appropriate steps as you think appropriate.

With warm regards and namaskar,

Dr. S.D.Sharma  
President of India  
Rastrapati Bhavan  
New Delhi 110004

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*

( SAMAR GUHA )

Ly no. 8147/10004  
8/14/94

of. **Samar Guha**  
Former  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
( LOK SABHA )



8/2, CENTRAL PARK,  
CALCUTTA-700 032  
PHONE : 72-1601

INQUIRY ABOUT NETAJI IN RUSSIA

It is the generally accepted view that after fall of Japan on August 15, 1945, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's destination was Russia. Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission have also confirmed this view.

According to large number of dependable reports, Netaji entered into Russian territory across the Manchurian border.

Indian Prime Minister, Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao is going to Russia to meet the Russian President, Mr. Boris Yeltsin. Our Prime Minister should make a request to Mr. Boris Yeltsin to reveal what Russia knows about Netaji. Now that Russia has opened up KGB files, secret files of Stalin and other top secret reports of the war days, it is expected that if our Prime Minister makes a friendly, yet firm request to the Russian President, the sensitive issue of Netaji's disappearance may be finally resolved.

In the enclosed letter already sent to our Prime Minister, I have given reports about Netaji's entry ~~in~~ into Russia. Indian people hope that our Prime Minister will not hesitate to discharge our national duty to the Maha-Kshatriya of <sup>our</sup> national freedom.

*Samar Guha*  
( SAMAR GUHA )

**Samar Guha**

Former

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

(LOK SABHA)



16.  
8/2, CENTRAL PARK,  
CALCUTTA-700 032

PHONE : 72-1600

20 June/1994

Dear Prime Minister,

SPEED POST

You are going to Russia very soon to meet Mr. Boris Yeltsin, President of Russia. This is a very welcome move.

I would appeal to you in the name of God, our nation and the heritage of our freedom struggle to avail this occasion to make a request to Mr. Boris Yeltsin to reveal what they know about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, who, according to so many dependable reports, took shelter in the former Soviet Union after fall of Japan on Aug 15, 1945.

Now, the Govt. of Russia have adopted a liberal policy to open out all secret documents of KGB and the secret archives of Stalin. It will be, thus, no difficult for Russia to reveal all facts about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Following are some of the reports, - why it is firmly believed that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose took shelter in Soviet Russia after surrender of Japan in mid 1945.

(1) According to disclosure made to Sarat Chandra Bose by Dr. Radha Vinod Pal, the Indian judge of the 'Tokyo War Criminals Trial'. The American Judge of the Trial informed Dr. Pal that according to an inquiry report of Mac Arthur, the war time Chief of the US Pacific Army 'Subhas Chandra Bose of India escaped to Russia via Dairen under the camouflage of the story of his reported air crash death on Aug 18, 1945.'

(2) The British Intelligence submitted to the Govt. of Kavel in early 1946, that Subhas Chandra Bose reached Russian territory. Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawharlal Nehru received some secret communication from Bose requesting them to arrange for his repatriation to India. (Shah Nawaz Committee document - No.10/Misc./INA-pages 38-39). These reports says :

"Gandhiji stated publicly at the beginning of January (1946) that he believed that Bose was alive and is hiding ascribing it to his inner voice. The Congressmen believe that Gandhiji's inner voice is a secret information which he received. There is, however, a secret report which says Nehru received a letter from Bose saying that he was in Russia and that he wanted to escape to India. The information alleges that Gandhiji and Sarat Chandra Bose are those who were aware of this. ~~It is~~ It is probable that a letter arrived about the time Gandhiji made his public statement. In January also, Sarat Bose is

is reported to have said that he was convinced that his brother was alive."

(3) According to another British Intelligence Report received from the Russian Ambassador in Kabul and Mr. Maradoff, the Russian Vice Consul General in Teheran, that 'Bose is in Russia' assuming the name of 'Ghilzai Malang'.

"The information received from the internal source is puzzling and same can be said about the external information. On 7th January the Russian paper Pravda denied in strong terms that Bose was in Russia. Before this, however, Ghilzai Malang had been coupling with a live Bose in Russia, and in December, a report said that the Governor of Afghan Province, Khost, has been informed by the Russian Ambassador in Kabul that there are many Congress refugees in Moscow and Bose was included in their number. There is little reason for such persons to bring Bose into fabricated stories. At the same time, the view that the Russian Officers are disclosing or alleging that Bose is in Moscow is supplied in a report received from Teheran. This stated that Maradoff, the Russian Vice-Consul General disclosed in March that Bose is in Russia ... Taihoku, Congress and Russian representatives in Teheran and Kabul are most important objectives in this case as it stands now."

(4) A note found in Mountbatten's Diary (Placed before the Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission) hinted that Netaji Bose didn't move beyond Tourane in North Vietnam. From there Netaji Bose and Genl. Shedei separated themselves from the other passengers of the plane bound for Taihoku. From there Netaji went back to Dalat, the Hq. of the Japanese S.E. Army and from there he and Genl. Shedei moved to Dairen by a separate plane. Genl. Shedei was deputed to take charge of the Japanese Kwantung Army then facing Russian incursion into Manchuria.

(5) The disclosure made in 1975 in the British Documents of 'Transfer of Power - 1942-47' in Volume VI a few 'Top Secret' letters have been published about 'treatment of Bose' after fall of Japan. The 'Top Secret' letter No.57 informed regarding the decision of the U.K Govt. about Subhas Chandra Bose in which it has been stated :

"In many ways the easiest course would be to leave him (Bose) where he is. And not to ask for his release. He might, of course, in certain circumstances be welcomed by the Russians. This course would raise fewest immediate political difficulties."

(6) A German Global Intelligence Agency, INTERPRESS, published an article in 1949. In which it claimed that Bose had gone to Russia and was waiting for a revolutionary move towards India with the help of Russia.

(7) S.A. Ayer in his testimony before Khosla Commission, the former Information Minister of Azad Hind Govt. disclosed that he was secretly sent by Pandit Nehru to Japan in 1951 to ascertain facts about Netaji's plan after fall of Japan. In his report to Pandit Nehru, Ayer informed that :

Col. Tada who was an architect of Netaji's Plan of Disappearance alongwith Genl. Isoda told him that as advised by F.M. Terauchi, the Chief of the Japanese S.E. Asian Army 'Koka-Bose' (His Excellency Bose) was asked to reach Russian territory alongwith Genl. Shedei who was going to Dairen. "It was arranged that Chandra Bose will fly in the plane in which Shedei was going. Genl. Shedei will look after Chandra Bose upto Dairen, and thereafter, he would fall back on his own resources to contact Russian. Japanese would announce to the world that Bose had disappeared. That would absolve them (Japanese) of all responsibility in the eyes of the Allies."

(8) The British Communist leader Mr. Gollacher, who was then a member of the Parliament, said in a statement in 1949 that, "Bose has gone to Irish Free State on a secret mission."

(9) Deben Sen, then an M.P. made a press statement in Delhi in 1969 before his death that he and Mr. Joglaker, a founder-member of the Communist Party, accidentally met Subhas Chandra Bose at Marseilles airport in France while they were going to Amsterdam to attend an International Trade Union Conference. Deben Sen, who was closely known to Subhas Chandra Bose in thirties when tried to approach Netaji at the airport, he was signalled by Netaji not to approach him and keep silent as he was then found surrounded by a few Russian guards. Deben Sen on return from Amsterdam told this story to Sarat Chandra Bose and later to me privately. But he was asked by Sarat Babu not to say anything about it publicly. But ~~in 1969~~ in 1969, when he felt that he was about to die because of serious heart trouble, Deben Sen made a public statement in Delhi giving about the incident of his meeting Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the French airport. Interestingly, the time of this incident tallied with the time of Gollacher's statement about Netaji's visit to Ireland to meet De Valera.

(10) Unfortunately, no body inquired from De Valera if Subhas Chandra Bose visited Ireland during the days of 1949. When De Valera later visited India, he told press people that "I expected Bose to see in India."

(11) All the Japanese Diplomats, who were inter-linked with Netaji Bose during the days of Azad Hind struggle and all the INA Generals and the Azad Hind Govt. Ministers told Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission that Netaji's destination after his flight from Saigon on

Aug 17, 1945 was Russia. Only exception was Col. Habibur Rahman, who was a part of Netaji's escape-plan.

(12) Shri Shyamlal Jain, a steno of Mr. Asaf Ali, who was the Secretary of the INA Defence Council in 1945, told Khosla Commission that on Dec 26/27, 1945 he was asked by Pandit Nehru to prepare copies of a 'note' at the residence of Asaf Ali. The note informed :

"...Bose arrived today Aug 24, 1945 at Dairen at 1.30 afternoon alongwith Genl. Shedei, proceeded towards Russian territory, the jeep returned after three hours."

(13) Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan confided his close friend Dr. Saroj <sup>Das</sup> Roy, the then Head of the Deptt. of Philosophy, Calcutta University that he came to know that 'Bose is in captivity in Stalin's Russia'. This information was communicated to Shri Morarji Desai by the great historian R.C. Majumdar, an intimate friend of Dr. Saroj Roy.

(14) Many other informations were given to the press by Mr. P.B. Seal (in London) and later by S.W. Sinha, a former Indian Ambassador in East Germany, that Netaji was in captivity in Soviet Russia.

(15) In 1990 a document was found in the archives of US Princeton University that Khurshed Naureji - a grand daughter of Dadabhai Naureji a very trusted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi wrote a letter to the American journalist, Mr. Louis Fischer, who was known to maintain liaison between Mahatma Gandhi and President Roosevelt, - giving a detailed description of the political situation in India in 1946. In this letter Khurshed Behin wrote to ~~Mr~~ Fischer :

"At heart the Indian Army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army (INA of Bose). If Bose comes with the help of Russia, neither Gandhiji nor Congress will be able to reason with the country. Also if Russia for propaganda purposes declare itself an Asiatic country, then there is no hope of an European alliance acceptable to India."

This letter was written on instruction of Mahatma Gandhi which showed that Gandhiji was definite till 22nd July 1946 that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was in Russia.

(14) An Indian Engineer of Calcutta, Mr. A. Sarker, who is still alive and in Calcutta, made a statement to Calcutta Statesman saying that he met a German Jew, - Mr. B.A. Zerobin, Deputy Chief of the Plant, Machinosttroitelinizevod of Soviet Union. Mr. Sarker was working in the Machine Building Plant at Gorlovska near the city of Donetsk. He was working there being deputed by the Govt. of India.

I also met Shri Sarker in Calcutta and got the information that he received from Zerobin. I asked him why he didn't go to the press after

returning to India. He told me that on receiving information about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Zerobin, he approached Indian Embassy in Moscow, but was warned by the Third Secretary of the Mission not to utter a word about it to anybody.

"Zerobin after being captured in Berlin, was taken in a train to an unknown place in Siberian region, from where he was sent to a Re-orientation Camp somewhere in Siberia. In that Camp one day he suddenly found Subhas Chandra Bose coming out of a Car, flanked by two Mongolian guards. Seeing Bose, Zerobin excitedly rushed towards him and said: 'Sir, I have met you in Berlin'. Bose replied in his characteristic style: 'Quite likely'. Bose then asked Zerobin: 'What are you doing here?' Zerobin replied: 'I don't know what for.' Zerobin again asked Bose: 'What is your programme, Sir? Are you going back to India?' Bose: 'I expect it to be soon.'

While Bose and Zerobin were talking in German, (Bose knew German well) the Mongolian guards intervened: 'Not allowed'.

Thereafter, Zerobin had no opportunity to meet Bose in the Siberian Re-orientation Camp.

Zerobin warned Mr. A.K.Sarkar that if he disclosed the report of Zerobin's meeting with Subhas Chandra Bose in the Re-orientation Camp in Siberia, the lives of both, Zerobin and Sarkar, will be seriously endangered.

After retiring from the Govt. job, Shri Sarkar took courage to disclose the report about Bose and that too many years later.

I have sent a letter to the then President of Soviet Union, Mr. Gorbachev. My letter was separately forwarded to the Russian President by our ~~former~~ former President, Shri N.Sanjiva Reddy and a former President of the Congress, Shri S.Nijalingappa. But none of these letters was replied by Mr. Gorbachev.

After Mr. Boris Yeltsin came into power, I addressed a fresh letter to him enclosing also the copy of the letter that I had written to Mr. Gorbachev.

Earlier on Nov 29, 1973 I had addressed a letter to the then President of Soviet Union, Mr. Brezhnev requesting him to disclose what Russia knew about Netaji's entry into Soviet Russia in the month of Aug 1945. The letter was acknowledged, but not replied. I had the opportunity to meet Mr. Brezhnev as a Leader of the Socialist Group in the Parliament when he visited Delhi in 1973.

Respected Prime Minister Narasimha Raoji! You will be visiting Russia and soon meet the present President of Russia, Mr. Boris Yeltsin. I would earnestly request you to take up this solemn patriotic issue about the fate of the greatest revolution of India, Netaji Subhas Chandra

-6-

Bose, who reportedly entered into Soviet Russia after fall of Japan. I do hope that you will take up the mission, as a sacred national task, to find out from Mr. Boris Yeltsin what really happened to Netaji of the Indian people after his entry into Russia.

I know that this is a very intricate issue. But it is expected of the Prime Minister of India to take up the issue with the President of Russia to finally resolve the poignant question - what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, - the Maha Kshatriya of Indian freedom.

With best regards and namaskar,

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*

( SAMAR GUHA )

Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao  
Prime Minister of India  
South bloc  
New Delhi 110011

(8)

22

प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय  
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

नई दिल्ली - 110 011  
NEW DELHI - 110 011

I have been directed to forward herewith in original a letter to the President of India, dated 29th June, 1994 from Prof. Samar Guha, ex-M.P. This has been received in this office from the President's Secretariat.

*we*

*Sm*  
(Sujata Mehta)  
Director

*9*

Home Secretary

PMO u.o.No. 870/11/P/10/93-POL dated 20-07-1994

*Pu*

*Issued  
21/7*

George Fernandes

संसद सदस्य  
(लोक सभा)



3, Krishna Menon Marg  
New Delhi - 110 011

15th July, 1994

Dear Prime Minister,

The controversy over the death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose needs to be settled without any further delay. I notice that there is now a dispute about bringing into India the ashes of Netaji. The dispute centres around some questions about the facts surrounding Netaji's death.

I feel that you must take some initiative in this matter and get all the political parties and other concerned people to a round table to have this matter resolved. It does not behove our country to keep the ashes of Netaji in Japan despite repeated requests from the Japanese that they be removed to India.

I hope you will take early action on this suggestion.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely

George Fernandes

Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao,  
Prime Minister of India,  
7, Race Course Road,  
New Delhi.

8523/pallay

29/7

3361/vip

29/7

7490/sscm/ly

3645/amt(2)/94  
21/7



PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
July 22, 1994

Dear Shri Fernandes,

I have received your letter of July 15, 1994  
and have noted the point you made.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

*P.V. Narasimha Rao*  
(P.V. Narasimha Rao)

Shri George Fernandes, MP  
3, Krishna Menon Marg  
New Delhi

*Encl.*  
*Direct*  
*for*  
*21.7*  
*for file*  
*P II 20/7*  
*17.11.1993*

*8524/POL/H4*  
*21/7*

# ASHIS C. RAY

1 August, 1994.

Dear Mr Varma,

Enclosed herewith is a MEMO on the subject of "ASHES" said to be the mortal remains of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

I am interested in this matter because Netaji was my great uncle, my grand-father, Sarat Chandra Bose's younger brother.

Sadly, for 49 years, neither the family nor the people or government of India has managed to indisputably establish what happened to him. Netaji's wife, Emilie Schenkl and only child, Anita Pfaff live in Germany, and while not unconcerned, are hesitant to do anything one way or other, lest it hurts Indian sentiments. My uncles and aunts, not to mention my mother, have either grown weary in their attempt to do something or as in the case of a few, have chosen to have a closed mind on the issue. In these circumstances, I may be among very few relatives of Netaji still left with the energy and inclination to pursue the subject.

For several years, now, I have tried to carefully study the concerned subject. If I had been able to devote my entire time to it, I would, probably, have found a solution. But my labours may have, at least, given me an insight into what needs to be done to produce a framework acceptable to all concerned. It is not an impossible task; and given the present Indian leadership, can be accomplished without too much difficulty.

As part of my private effort to get to the bottom of the affair and at the same time pave the way for the return of the "ashes" to India, if they are indeed Netaji's, I recently visited Tokyo. There, I met senior officials of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, academics involved in the study of Netaji and his activities and his former associates. Based on these and my discussions with the Indian Ambassador in Japan, Prakash Shah, I have prepared the mentioned memo.

I should, in fact, like to particularly thank Mr Shah for the co-operation and good advice extended by him.

Senior cabinet ministers have suggested that I should seek an appointment with the Prime Minister on the matter. I felt I should apprise you of it before doing so; and in any case, would be pleased if you were present at such a meeting, if this is alright with you.

PRL. SECY. to PM.

DY No...

Date...

J.S. (M)'S OFFICE

DY. No...

DATE...

1

3885/2009/194  
3/8

J.S. (M)'S OFFICE

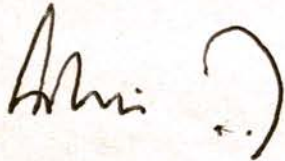
Dy. No. 2009/194

Date...

The court case, cited in the memo, is already underway. Therefore, there may be a slight urgency in dealing with it. Please let me have your reaction.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'A. N. Varma' followed by a large, stylized closing flourish.

Mr A. N. Varma  
Principal Secretary to  
the Prime Minister  
Lodi Estate  
New Delhi.

PREAMBLE  
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As is well known, ashes, said to be the mortal remains of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, have been kept at Tokyo's Renko-ji temple since 1945. These have been preserved with due care and respect by a succession of head priests of the temple. It is most commendable that the Government of India has, over the years, albeit unofficially, assisted this work.

While shouldering an onerous responsibility, the priests in question have never complained about this nor have they ever created any pressure to be relieved of the same. However, the present head priest of the temple, like his predecessor, feels that it is only appropriate that the "ashes" return to India and this is also the unanimous view of remaining Japanese associates of Netaji.

If the "ashes" do indeed belong to Netaji, then, perhaps, every effort should be made to bring them back to India. And with the highest possible honour.

For this to happen, those who disbelieve the story of his death in a plane crash - namely a few members of the Bose family (most of whom think otherwise), the Forward Bloc and some diehard individuals - need to be convinced to the contrary.

And all legal hurdles to transfer of the "ashes" to Indian soil need to be removed.

23 January, 1997 will mark Netaji's birth centenary. It would be a feather in the central government's cap if the "ashes" arrive in India on 23 January, 1996, and are, if desired, taken around the country during the centenary year before being dealt with as the family wishes.

RECOMMENDED ACTION  
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The opposition to the plane crash story is not entirely unreasonable. As per this incident, Netaji died in unusual circumstances, there is no photographic record of his dead body. And the "cremation certificate" claimed to relate to the last rites is in the name of a Japanese national, described as a member of the armed forces and whose birth date is different from Netaji's.

Such discrepancy was attempted to be explained away by the Japanese government as reflective of a need to maintain secrecy about Netaji's death. Yet, it was Japan which released to the world the news of the air crash.

The reported accident - on 18 August, 1945 - took place only days after Japan's surrender in World War II. It is understandable that the Japanese were shell shocked by the turn of events and there was utter confusion and a complete lack of co-ordination among them. And it is quite possible that while Tokyo was making public news of Netaji's death, Japanese officials in Taihoku, in the absence of any instruction, thought it prudent to keep the matter confidential.

A CREDIBLE AND DETAILED EXPLANATION FROM JAPANESE AUTHORITIES AS TO WHY THE CREMATION CERTIFICATE WAS NOT IN NETAJI'S NAME IS, THEREFORE, NECESSARY.

Indeed, a comprehensive statement, ideally by the Japanese Prime Minister, to clear the foggy atmosphere of the past 49 years may be most helpful. The Japanese government is likely to oblige. Japanese leaders, in recent times, have made a habit of apologising to Asian countries for treatment meted out to them during Japanese occupation of these nations during World War II. While Japan did not commit any crime against India, the post-war confusion resulting in a lack of a clear cut statement on the Netaji affair has, arguably, contributed to the deadlock over the "ashes".

For 11 years after the purported disaster, Japan made no effort to produce an official report on what happened. This led to unchecked speculation. On the one hand, the plane crash was dismissed - notably by the British - as just the thing Netaji would do to escape the clutches of the Anglo-Americans, and on the other, various theories emerged about his whereabouts.

Besides, pro-Netaji elements were skeptical of Pandit Nehru and his motives. They rejected the findings of the Inquiry Committee headed by Shah Nawaz Khan in 1956. (It would be fair to say that this probe was not conducted in a professional manner.) And also found unacceptable the conclusions of the Khosla Commission - in the 1970s - as they unnecessarily went beyond its brief by making political statements in favour of the Nehru-Gandhis and against Netaji.

However, in 1956, the Japanese government investigated and confirmed Netaji's death following the crash. And handed over this report to the Indian government. THE SAME DOES NOT APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN MADE PUBLIC TILL DATE. Copies of the report exist in files at both the Ministry of External Affairs and the Indian Embassy in Tokyo. They are marked "TOP SECRET". Yet, no harm could ever have come from publicising this as well as some other documents similarly classified. The skeptics will find it difficult to accuse the Japanese of an ulterior motive or a vested interest. Release of the report and related papers can, therefore, only have a very positive impact in persuading them to reconcile themselves to reality.

It is equally important to obtain from Russian authorities that Netaji never visited the Soviet Union after 18 August, 1945, if this is indeed the case. Opponents of the plane crash story believe that Netaji slipped away to the Soviet Union. It is true that he had planned to do so. But this was cut short by his seemingly premature death.

Moreover, a clarification is required from the British government on its stand until at least the late 1940s that Netaji did not die in the plane crash. (The chances are that Whitehall at some stage altered this view.)

Colonel Habibur Rahman, Netaji's ADC, who survived the crash, told his son, Naeemur, who now lives in Islamabad, that the aircraft failure was caused by SABOTAGE by Chinese technicians (hostile towards the Japanese, not Netaji - several senior Japanese military officers were on the flight) at Taihoku airport - this is new information, never mentioned by the former in his deposition to the Shah Nawaz Committee in 1956 - and that he placed a gold plated tooth belonging to Netaji in the urn containing the ashes when this was handed to him after the cremation in Taihoku - this, too, he had not made public before. A serious endeavour to get to the bottom of the "mystery" could include doing a simple X-ray of the urn. If the tooth is indeed there, the X-ray would be invaluable in terms of determining if the tooth matches with Netaji's dental records. The existence of the tooth would also help to increase Habibur Rahman's credibility, sometimes questioned.

A sincere presentation of the new evidence, is likely to create a favourable public opinion. The principal person in the Bose family still challenging the crash story, Amiya Nath Bose, a nephew of Netaji, needs to be brought around by the Prime Minister himself - there is a good chance that if reasonably approached, he will drop his opposition. It is desirable that agreement regarding bringing the "ashes" is secured from Netaji's wife and daughter, both residing in Augsburg, Germany. This is best done through Dr Sisir Bose, another nephew of Netaji. The Forward Bloc can be tackled by Jyoti Basu, who successfully made it do a volte face on Teen Bigha and can, most probably, do it again.

But no progress can be made unless there is an irreversible judgement from the Supreme Court authorising the return of the "ashes". Government could take the initiative in the matter. There is already a case before the Chief Justice petitioning how Netaji could have been given the Bharat Ratna "posthumously". GOVERNMENT COULD SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO COMBINE ALL RELATED CASES PENDING IN ANY COURT IN THE COUNTRY, SEEK TIME TO COLLECT ALL "NEW EVIDENCE" OR MOVE THE MATTER SEPARATELY BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT TO DO AWAY WITH LEGAL IMPEDIMENTS ONCE AND FOR ALL.

In fighting the above case, it may be relevant to bear in mind that in September 1978, Morarjee Desai, as Prime Minister, made a statement in the Lok Sabha, effectively rejecting the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission.

END

28  
August 8, 1994

870/11/P/10/93-61

Thank you for your letter of August 1, 1994 about your recent studies pertaining to Netaji.

2. I appreciate the detailed note on the subject of Netaji's ashes you have enclosed with your letter, and the particular facts you have highlighted shall be examined. In the meanwhile, I appreciate the constructive approach to the subject you have outlined, and this shall certainly receive full consideration. We shall pursue the matter and will be in touch.

Yours sincerely,

*h*  
(A.N. Varma)  
o/c

*Done  
9/8/94*  
Shri Ashis C. Ray,  
F-162, Malcha Marg,  
Chanakyapuri,  
NEW DELHI-110021

Copy with a copy of the letter under reply to  
Home Secretary and Foreign Secretary.

*Am*  
8.8

*P57*

PRL, SECY. to PM.

DY No. 2822-6/94

Date 8/8/94

*Done 13/9/94*

प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय  
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

नई दिल्ली - 110011  
NEW DELHI-110011

A copy of a letter from Principal Secretary to PM to Shri Ashis C. Ray in reply to Shri Ray's letter about Netaji (copy also attached) may kindly be seen for action as appropriate.

*Sm*  
(Sujata Mehta)  
Director

Home Secretary

Foreign Secretary

PMO u.o.No. 870/11/P/10/93-POL dated 09-08-94

*Issued Re 10/8*

*9*  
*Pii*



NETAJI'S BUST AT RENKO-JI

30



HEAD PRIEST OF RENKO-JI

3/



RENKO-JI TEMPLE, TOKYO

32



この位命を人類に奉祀せられた  
1944年4月20日  
終戦後 1949年10月22日

CASKET (URN) CONTAINING "ASHES"

33

(14)  
ASHIS C. RAY

2 August, 1994.

Dear Mr Varma,

Further to the letter and the document sent to you yesterday, I am enclosing herewith some photographs taken by me at Renko-ji temple, Tokyo, which will give you an idea of the state of the "ashes".

The "remains" are supposed to be in a urn inside a gold painted wooden casket. This is in the shape of an old style Japanese building, with a tiny door or shutter at the bottom, which opens to give you a view of the urn, which appears to have "SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE" written on it in "chinese ink".

Among the photos is one of the head priest of the temple and of a bust of Netaji prominently installed in the temple compound.

Best regards,

Ashis

Mr A. N. Varma  
Principal Secretary to  
the Prime Minister  
Lodi Estate  
New Delhi.

PS. I should like to add that while I am willing to shoulder responsibility, I do not wish to seek any credit or publicity for my role. Indeed, it would be ideal if the matter is handled quietly till it comes to fruition and government gets the applause.

Ashis

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27/8/94

S. NIJILINGAPPA  
EX-CHIEF MINISTER OF  
KARNATAKA

15

'VINAY' V.P. Extension 35  
CHITRADURGA-577501  
(Karnataka State)  
Phone : 2550  
18th Sept 1994

Dear Prime Minister,

I have been receiving letters from several people since these two or three years that the ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose which have keeping in an Urn in Rankoji Buddhist temple in Tokyo may be recovered from the temple and preserve in a suitable manner in India. I am also write to you that when I had been to Japan in 1968, the Buddhist priest in charge of the temple impressed upon me the necessity that the ashes may be arranged to sent to India for necessity preservation with due honour . On my return from Tokyo I wrote to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. But the same should be done nearly 25 years; nothing seems to have been done. May I press upon you the necessity of this being done by your Government?

Ins. 16/C

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

(S. NIJILINGAPPA)

Sri P.V.Narasimha Rao,  
Prime Minister of India,  
New Delhi.

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about the author of



PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
September 29, 1994

Dear Shri Nijalingappa,

Thank you for your letter of September 18, 1994.

I have noted the points you have made.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

(P.V. Narasimha Rao)

Shri S. Nijalingappa  
'Vinay' V.P. Extension  
Chitradurga-577 501  
(Karnataka State)

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE  
31 AUG 1995  
NEW DELHI.

37

ରାଜ୍ୟସ୍ତରିୟ ଗଜେତାଙ୍କ ଦ୍ଵାରା  
ସ୍ଵତନ୍ତ୍ର ପରାମର୍ଶ, ଓଡ଼ିଶା  
ଖଣ୍ଡ



Rajya Stariya  
NETAJI SUBHAS SMRUTI PARISHAD  
ORISSA, CUTTACK  
R. No. 5300/445

Ref. No.

Place Cuttack  
Date: 21.8.95

TELEGRAM.

Sri Sunil Kumar Ray  
Working President.

Sri P.V. Narsimha Rao,  
Hon'ble Prime Minister of India,  
New Delhi.

Sri Dhruba Sahoo,  
Advocate  
General Secretary

Demanded to inaugurate AJAD-HIND-FOUZ MUSEUM,  
At- Lalkilla on 23rd. January, 1996 on NETAJI  
SUBHAS birth day instead of Gandhi Jayanti 2nd  
October.

Sd/-  
Working President  
&  
General Secretary.

CONFIRMATION OF TELEGRAM DATED 21.8.95.

It has been declared by the Prime-Minister that on the 15th. August, 1995 on occasion of Independence day the AJAD-HIND-FOUZ prisoners Museum at Lalkilla, Delhi will be inaugurated on the 2nd October, in ~~the~~ Gandhi Jayanti instead of NETAJI JAYANTI on the 23rd. January, 1996. Azad Hind-Fouz had been formed by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose ( The leader of the Nation) and he was the Supreme Commander as Chief of the Azad Hind Fouz. He had occupied up to Imphal. British and America were defeated, victory day was observed in Kohima by Netaji and India got independence for his greate contribution and freedomstruggle of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Mr. Shahnawaj Khan, Mr. Segal, Mr. Dhilen and others I.N.A. Military Officers were imprisoned for trial at Lalkila. They had fought against the British in the freedom struggle in violence method under the great leadership of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, who was the Supreme Commander in chief of the Ajad-Hind-Fouz.

No papers on this particular subject  
placed below pl. No other  
papers are with  
physical section.  
Contd.....P/2,,  
5/9/95  
Pl II

DS(R)  
PS & mos (mo)  
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425/PS/10/95  
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9/9/95  
MCS PMO'S OFFICE  
CY NO 10600-6  
DATE 26/9/95  
569/DS(R)/95  
10537 Am/AT85  
7/9

When Gandhi adopted non-violence in the Freedom movement movement in India. So it is not justified and not legal to inaugurate the above museum of the I.N.A. Prisoners in the 2nd October, on Mahatma Gandhi's Birth day ~~MM~~.

So it is demanded by the Rajyastariya Netaji Subhas Smruti Parishad, Orissa, Cuttack as well as the People of Orissa in his birth place of Orissa, Cuttack that instead of the 2nd October, the Museum should be inaugurated on the 23rd. January, 1996, and further prayed that also Sri Narsimha Rao as the Prime-Minister of India should be impartial this issue.

Sunil Kumar Ray  
WORKING PRESIDENT

Advocate Dhruva Sahoo

GENERAL SECRETARY

RAJYASTARIYA NETAJI  
SUBHAS SMRUTI PARISAD,  
ORISSA, CUTTACK.